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DDI #04583-85
16 September 1985

NOTE TO: ADDI
D/SOVA
NIO/USSR

FROM : Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT: Support for the National Council for Soviet and
East European Research

I received the attached letter last Friday. NCSEER is on the hunt for money again. I'm inclined to think that this is a worthwhile investment -- at least up to a point. Please consider the attached. I will schedule a meeting [redacted] to discuss where we go with this. [redacted]

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Rf.
Robert M. Gates

Attachment:
As stated

DDI/RMGates [redacted]

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH

Edward L. Keenan
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Vladimir I. Toumanoff
Executive Director

Suite 304
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 387-0168

September 11 1985

The Honorable Robert Gates
Deputy Director
The Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

This letter is about Soviet studies in the United States. I am moved to write by the support you have given that field, including major contributions to this Council since 1981 for both its national research program and the Soviet emigre survey. I also remember well our breakfast discussion with you and Admiral Inman about the "Soviet-Eastern European Research and Training Act" when that legislation was introduced by Senators Lugar and Biden and Congressmen Hamilton and Simon, and your help in getting the bill passed. What prompts this letter now is the Council's experience in the first few months of work under that Act.

Congress appropriated \$4.8 million for the Act this fiscal year, and of that sum the Department of State granted the Council \$1,150,000 for postdoctoral research projects. In response to an announcement that gave only short notice to the profession, the Council received 148 proposals from 102 institutions in 33 states. The total value of the proposed research was some \$13.4 million, \$9.6 million of which were requested from the Council, with the balance contributed in cost-sharing by the applicant institutions. By careful selection and draconian budget cuts, we have managed to fund 28 projects, but have had to turn down 120, with an estimated total value of nearly \$11 million. The gap between opportunity and resources under the Act is manifest, and disturbing in several ways.

It means that a great deal of useful research by competent scholars and graduate students will not be done, published, or taught in the classrooms of the country. That rate of rejection also puts at risk the Council's continuing ability to mobilize a

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national academic research effort on the USSR and Eastern Europe on an agenda developed with the Government. What is most disturbing is that the scale of disappointment is so high and so widely spread across the country that it is likely to discourage more gifted people from staying in the field, or from entering it, than the awards are likely to inspire commitments to it. To the extent that is the case, the net effect of our first round under the Act may be the opposite of its principal purpose.

The picture is not as bleak as the raw numbers. Not all, by far, of the proposals and applicants were worth supporting. But if we assume, correctly in my view, that half were on significant topics by serious scholars, and if their budgets could be cut by 25%, the Council and the profession could have put to excellent use some \$2.5 million more than were available. If we assume further that next year the Council will receive only 100 proposals instead of 148, the opportunity and need will still be for \$1.5-2 million more than can be hoped for under the Act.

This fiscal year the Central Intelligence Agency's contribution to the Council's national research program was discontinued because funding under the Act was expected to be sufficient. Our expectation has turned out to be mistaken, and my request, on behalf of the Board of Trustees, is that the CIA resume its support in Fiscal Year 1986. I have enclosed a list of the projects we had to turn down, not because I think very many of the better ones could be revived next year, but as an illustration of the national potential.

I should add a few words about what may be obvious. When all granting institutions and government contracts seek to fund only "the best", a few well known scholars are stretched too thin, while the field of Soviet studies as a whole declines further. Like any other profession, to survive it requires a competent critical mass, many workhorses for every jumper. The Council, with federal funds, bridges two worlds, the consumer institutions seeking the best possible and most useful written research product and the academic field at large which sorely needs investment in its intellectual capital through support for research. The Government and the academic community jointly created the Council to make that investment on a national scale, as well as to provide a research product.

A corollary of that broad purpose is that, like other capital investment, some of it yields remarkably (a Boris Rumer), most of it performs respectably, and some of it is

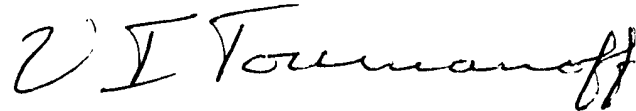
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lost. I know that both the Council and the Government have been disappointed in the quality of some of our research reports (although subsequent books and articles are better), and few of them measure up to the product of the best in-house research institutions such as the CIA or Rand. Unlike these, our work is done by individuals, many of them young and unknown, scattered all over the country. We are sustaining and training a national cadre, the best of whom can be, and have been, picked up and honed by the Government and the Rands. We cannot duplicate their in-house quality control procedures, and our reports will rarely measure up to the standards they set. Resumed funding by the Agency, however, would permit the Council to employ a research director whose sole function would be to ensure the quality of our reports. He would work directly, and through our Trustees, with the scholars we fund, from the design of their projects right through to their end products. That is a "luxury" we have never allowed ourselves in the face of the desperate need of the profession for research funds. With stable funding for larger numbers of projects it would become a necessity.

I have spoken about all of this, and would be glad to work with any or all of them if you think this course is worth pursuing.

STAT

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "V I Toumanoff", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Vladimir I. Toumanoff

Encl.

PROPOSALS NOT FUNDED UNDER TITLE VIII
IN JUNE 1985 COMPETITION

Acculturation Process of Soviet Immigrant Families

Anatomy of Soviet Jurisprudence: Questions of Legality and Dissent

Appearance and Reality: Contradictions in the Reform Process in Hungary, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union

Art of Solidarity Exhibition

Atlantic Alliance and Eastern Europe

Bibliography of Soviet Philosophy on Computer

Career Path of the Soviet Naval Officer

Causes of Change in the Industrial Production Patterns of GDR Bezirke, 1952-1984

Central Asia: The Military/Strategic Dimension

Central Asian Archives

Conference "Soviet Education Policy in the Ukrainian SSR"

Conference and Volume - 1956 and East Europe

Consumer Well-Being & Regional Economic Change in the GDR

Costs and Benefits of Hungarian Economic Interaction with the Soviet Union: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis

Covariance Structure Models of Shortage and Slack in East European Economies

Cultural Policies in the USSR and Eastern Europe: Ideology, Assent, and Dissent

Cultural Revolution and the Nationalities in the USSR: A Study of Indigenization in the Ukraine & Belorussia, 1923-33

Czechoslovak-Soviet Military Relationship, 1941-1949

Database of Soviet Scientific, Industrial, and Military Personnel and Institutions

East Central Europe since 1939

Eastern Europe and the West

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: The Intrabloc Diversity

Economics of the Soviet Defense Sector

Effect of Subsidies on the Measurement and Assessment of the Soviet Defense Burden

Effects of Domestic Reforms and External Disturbances on Economic Performance in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia

Effects of Economic Reform on Industrial Production in the USSR

Empirical Analysis of Soviet Policy Priorities: A KU Databank

Encyclopedia of Communist Atrocities

Engineering-Economic Analysis of Case Studies of Innovation and Technical Adaptation in Soviet Railway Freight Transportation

Experimental Production in the USSR

Foreign Affairs and Soviet Political Culture

Future of Sino-Soviet Relations Amidst the Transition in Leadership

Households, Labor & Class Formation: A Case Study of Social Change in Southern Transylvania

Impact of Economic Regulators and Incentives on the Development of Transdanubia, Hungary

In Search of Solidarity (A Documentary Film)

Independent National Consciousness in the USSR and Some East European Countries

Initiating a Data Archive and Access System for Social Survey Data

Innovation, Investment, & Technological Choice in Soviet Electrical Power

International Trade and the Soviet Domestic Economy

Intervention for and against Communism in the Third World

Laser Disc Information Source for Instruction in Russian Culture

Legal Status of Foreigners under Soviet Law

Marine Resource Policy of the Soviet Union in Western Africa: An Analysis of Benefits and Constraints

Matching of Supply and Demand for School Graduates in Yugoslavia

Migration, Ethnicity, and Religious Allegiances in Yugoslavia's
(Political) Future

Models of Early Childhood Education in East European Countries

Motive Forces in Soviet Politics

National Conference on the Status of the Study of Czechoslovakia

Nationalities Papers

Nature and Economic Consequences of Cooperative Sectors in
Eastern Europe

Nazi-Soviet Non-Agression Pact of 1939 and Its Historical
Consequences

New Developments in Soviet International Communication

Nuclear Escalation Management in Soviet Military Policy

On the History of Genetics & Darwinism in the U.S.S.R.

Organization of Scientific Research and its Application in the
USSR Today

Oscar Jaszi Memorial Conference: Nationalism, Minorities and the
Quest for Political Order in Eastern Europe

Pakhtakor Affair, The

Patterns of Local Implementation of Public Policies in Post-Tito
Yugoslavia

Patterns of Stability in Soviet Society

Poland: The Military Solution

Policy-making in Communist States: The Politics of Manpower
Policies in Czechoslovakia

Political Succession and Dynastic Socialism: A Study in the
Dynamics of the Nomenklatura

Politics of Force: Soviet and American Military Intervention in
Third World Conflicts, 1945-1985

Population Decline and Stabilization in Small Rural Communities:
The Case of Hungary 1960-1980

Portrayal of the U.S.A. by the Czechoslovak Mass Media

Pricing of Soviet Weapons: Learning Curve Adjustments

Problems of Risk as Mirrored by Soviet Culture

Propaganda vs Journalism: The Press in Poland Based on the Experience of the Weekly Kultura

Pushkin's Black Heritage

RASP (Russian Works on Asia and the Pacific): A Data Base

Recent Soviet Developments: The Dissemination of Research on Russia to the Public via the Electronic and Print Media

Research Using State Standards Information to Analyze Soviet Technology

Role of Soviet Research Institutes in Policy Formulation: The Institute of Oriental Studies ANSSR and Islam

Role of the KGB in the Soviet Political System

Russian Civilization Media Resource

Second Economies in Eastern Europe: An Anthropological Approach

Significance and Consequences of the Financial Situation in the USSR

Social Stratification in East Central Europe: Processes, Trends, and Cross-National Comparisons

Socialist Outposts: New Soviet Affiliates in the Third World

Socioeconomic Change and Rural-Urban Relationships: Background Research and a Documentary Film "Between Yesterday and Today--Postwar Transformations in a Serbian Village"

Some Social Functions of Russian Non-Conformist Fiction 1960-1980

Soviet Administrative Capability for Economic Reform

Soviet and American Children: A Comparative Study of Attitudes toward Nuclear Weapons, and of the Formation of Concepts of the Enemy

Soviet Caricature as a Reflection of Foreign Policy: Pravda and Izvestia Cartoon Images of the Outside World, 1917-1986

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Soviet Decision Making on Japan in the Postwar Period: Issues and Policies

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Soviet Interbasin Water Transfer Projects

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Soviet Perceptions of Long-Term Soviet-American Relations

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Soviet Policy in Africa: A Comparative Study of African Attitudes

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Soviet Population Losses from 1939 - 1950

Soviet Strategic Leadership: Historical Experience, Contemporary Planning and Implications for the Soviet System

Soviet Union and International Conflict Resolution

Stalin Question & Soviet Marxism, 1953-1969

Statistical Data Bank for the Study of Modern Hungarian and East Central European Social and Economic History. Ethnic Minorities and the Economic and Political Modernization of Hungary: 1867-1914

Strategic Triangle, Sino-Soviet Relations, and American Policy

Structuring a Television Documentary Series on the U.S.S.R.

Study of the Performing Arts in the Soviet Union, 1958-77

Study of the Second Economy in Soviet Armenia

Summer Institute: Internal Problems of the Soviet Union

Teenage Value Socialization: Achievement and Career Orientation in Poland

Television in the System of Soviet Ideology

Textual Analysis Facility for Soviet & East European Studies and
Pilot Project on Soviet Newspapers:

Transition from the Party State to the Military State in Poland

Two Communities

U.S.-Soviet Economic Relations

U.S.S.R. Bilateral Scientific and Technical Exchanges and their
Impact on Agricultural Goals

Udmurt Language: Preparation of a Manuscript Translation of a
Russian Language Grammar for Publication

Underlying Structures of East-West Relations: Impacts on
Patterns of Integration in the 1980's

US & Soviet Upbringing: A Cross-Cultural and Longitudinal Study

USSR - A State Unlike Any Other (A Study in Ideo-Semantic
Disinformation)

USSR - Gorbachev's First 300 Days